

## POLITICAL ACTION

The Socialist Party-SDF shall pursue an experimental and empirical approach to political action. Although it is the right of each member to refrain from participation in politics in a formal sense, it is proper for the Party to urge its members and locals to be active politically. At the present time there is a wide divergence of opinion in the organization on the nature of this political activity and the most effective way to carry it out.

This divergence has existed for some time and will continue until one approach proves to be an overwhelming success or until one viewpoint has been eagerly accepted by great numbers of the American people. Thus we propose that the SP-SDF membership as individuals and groups, be urged to take any of the following electoral actions:

1. Support Socialist Party candidates.
2. Support candidates of other socialist groups.
3. Support independent or liberal-labor candidates outside of the two major parties.
4. Support of independent liberal candidates within the two major parties.

Resolution submitted by Hannah and  
Francis Carner, Central Phila. Branch

## AN ITEM ON CIVIL RIGHTS

In order to achieve great advances in Civil Rights in the next year it will probably be necessary for the Executive of the Federal government to intervene directly, particularly in the Deep South, to implement the provisions of any Civil Rights legislation passed by Congress. It is important therefore that the Election Platforms of both major parties shall contain a commitment for such action. The SP shall carry out an educational campaign to secure these commitments (or more properly a campaign in an effort to secure these commitments).

Submitted by Francis Carner,  
Central Phila. Branch

## EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL SECURITY

Note: This proposal could be considered either an amendment to the Notes Toward a Master Plan - a proposal on unemployment by Arlon R. Tussing or to the Family Security proposal by other members of the Central Phila. Branch.

Preface Any complete plan for the fulfillment of Civil Rights for all citizens and also any comprehensive attack on poverty should include some radical proposals on public education. More than voting rights and more than massive public works are needed to get at the roots of the inferior economic and social status of many Negroes and to blunt the edges of poverty in the big city slums and the isolated

(continued - page )

HAMMER AND  
TONGS

number 2  
15 cents

DISCUSSION BULLETIN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

SP-SDF  
64 E. Van Buren  
Room 810  
Chicago 5, Ill.

## CONTENTS:

Build the Lever First By Bill Allen.....	Page 1
Three Themes In Foreign Policy By Boulder Socialist Party.....	Page 4
What is the Role of the Socialist Party? By Martin Oppenheimer.....	Page 6
Thoughts Preceding a Convention By Peter F. Meyer.....	Page 10
Poverty in Chicago By Illinois State Convention of the Socialist Party.....	Page 13
Civil Rights Resolution By Illinois State Convention of the Socialist Party.....	Page 15
War on Poverty Section of Platform By Michael Harrington.....	Page 16
Resolution On Electoral Activity By Local Los Angeles.....	Page 22
Resolution on New America By Local Los Angeles.....	Page 23
An Open Letter By Walter O'Hagan.....	Page 24



Since many of you have never met me and since I am about to suggest a radical solution to some of our common concerns, I feel that I should begin by presenting credentials. I have been a member of the Socialist Party for only 5 years though during that time I have had unusual opportunities to come to know our party and to be thrust up against its problems. I have been chairman of one local (which I helped found), edited the newsletter of another local for a year, and for the last 2 years have been State Organizer in what is (still) from our point of view an underdeveloped territory, though as I write this we have just succeeded in forming the State's first local. In addition to being active in 3 different States, I have visited our largest locals on both Coasts, in the Midwest, and in the Rockies. I have attended national conferences and have been a convention delegate.

During this time I have recruited an average of 3 persons a year to the party, and have brought about 100 more a goodly way along the path. I have spoken publically on Socialism at least 75 times, led discussions on Socialism, and debated theory publically with such disparate and desperate types as the national secretary of the Trotskyite YSA and Fulton Lewis III. I have done arena work in Unions, the ACLU, Cooperatives, CORE, SANE, Student Groups, etc. I worked in a campaign to elect a Socialist to the State Legislature (about 8% of the votes, but lots of fun).

But now the time has come when I want to know, quite seriously, what all this is leading to? I hasten to assure the querulous that I am not going to supply a new and subtle statement of political perspectives. I should also state immediately that I am not a member of any of the factions; indeed, I found the struggles of the last convention curiously unreal. If I voted for the Meier-Mendelsohn position it was because a victory for either wing could easily have split the party, especially if the victorious faction had exploited its majority with any of the intollerance occasionally shown at the convention. But my vote for a compromise position was also an expression of indifference to the problems posed in the alternatives.

Both were interesting lines (with more in common than was recognized at the time) and either could be, under certain circumstances, a viable approach to American politics. But could either the Labor Party or Realignment positions have been applied? Not by the Socialist Party, USA.

The fundamental nature of our party came out in earlier documents at the last convention: the reports on membership, finances, and publications. These showed that the lever which we apply to American politics is a lamentable one. We have approximately 1500 members. Perhaps a third are politically active. Our youth section is half as large and supplies us with enough new members to limit attrition. Our membership consists primarily of college graduates and this will be increasingly so as age takes its toll.

We constitute, by optimistic estimate, no more than .000001% of the American population. If we were all supermen, and in positions of predominant influence, we might be able to accomplish something. (We do exert incredible influence in relation to our size.) But two-thirds of us are not even concerned enough to subscribe to New America. Beyond this, we are, and



## BUILD THE LEVER FIRST (Continued) (2)

and have been for the last decade, in perpetual financial crisis. By dint of great effort and sacrifice on the part of some, we are barely able to maintain our national office and turn out an average of one pamphlet a year plus our platforms.

That we are an elite in America, that our national office functions with extraordinary efficiency given its means, that the level of our literature is as high as that of great parties such as the SPD, does not alter these fundamental facts. We are small and therefore we are poor and therefore even our best ideas barely touch the national audience. Our goals are superbly applicable to American problems; no one hears them. Our best people belong to the heaven without which there would be little hope for our society; the heaven is so thin that there is no ferment.

Platoons of political scientists could be kept busy trying to explain why Socialism has no mass following in the USA. But surely no one will insist that objective conditions limit us to 1500 members. I know from personal experience that even in a hick town in a backward state there will be 20-30 people who will come to a meeting to hear about democratic socialism in the abstract and double that number who would like to learn more about socialized medicine. I know, because I have seen it, that even a stagnant university will contain at least two dozen students who will take the time to attend four two-hour sessions on "The Fundamentals of Socialist Theory." I sincerely doubt that America does not contain at least 15,000 people who could be induced to join the Socialist Party.

If our party expanded ten-fold we would still be only .00001% of the USA, and the millenium would not be immanent. But many of our most pressing problems would vanish if we gained a membership of this size: we could become financially and organizationally capable of action. Is a ten-fold expansion too much to hope for? Even a tripling of our membership would make an intense difference in terms, for example, of the distribution of New America.

One thing alone keeps us from this goal: the lack of an effective recruitment policy. I can't supply one, but I will make some suggestions towards one: we need literature, an organizational mechanism, and a recruitment fund.

Literature means basic materials: a pamphlet explaining the rudiments of Socialism, another by prominent party members expounding their reasons for being Socialists, another setting forth simply the party's position on up-to-date problems, another listing the party's contributions to past and present struggles, and finally, one that offers a list of reference materials: books, magazine articles, and our standard literature. By this last item I do not mean, for example, to include Das Kapital or an article in New Left Review, but rather something simple like Comrade Fromm's comparative study of Marx and Freud (Beyond the Chains of Illusion) or the National Geographic's recent article on "Sweden—Workshop of the World." We can't produce full-blown Socialists at one stroke, but we can introduce potential recruits to rudimentary ideas and impressions by pushing them towards a paperback, or something unimposing and quickly available in the local public library. Literature is step one.

Secondly, we need to organize for recruitment. We need an effective national committee whose prime work is this plus a system of regional committees. We need a real speaker's bureau

## BUILD THE LEVER FIRST (Concluded) (3)

so that no Comrade capable of a decent speech leaves his home town without first notifying the speaker's bureau. We can't all be drawing cards like Comrade Thomas, but we can multiply our strength by intelligent planning. Organizing bureaus should also make use of tapes. It is almost criminal that the Thomas-Gold-water debate has not been pressed on locals and student groups, free if necessary. We need kits for potential organizers. How do you recruit? Set up a study group? Raise funds locally? Make use of books that are popular even if wrong-headed, such as the exposés of Vance Packard? How do you put together a decent and attractive newsletter? Get equal time from a TV station through the FCC? We have Comrades who know how to do these things and Comrades who need to know. An organizing committee would bring them together.

Above all, we must have a national Field Organizer, a Comrade who will travel full time in Socialism. There are isolated groups that need stimulus. There are whole metropolises crying for a catalyst. There are limping locals who need a one-shot lift. Only a full-time organizer fills the bill.

The bill is the final suggestion, and it will be high. What I have outlined requires a permanent recruitment fund to keep it going. Not that it has to be exorbitant: pamphlets, organizing kits, literature lists can be mimeographed if need be. And of course every new member's dues will help replenish the recruitment fund. If we set aside \$5,000.00 for next year and got an additional 300 members, their dues would cover the initial investment. But the initial investment is crucial enough so that 20% of all present dues should be earmarked for recruitment alone. I know we have no fat in our budget, but we cannot grow unless we really make the effort and unless we grow we will not only perpetuate our present financial crisis but we will doom our party to continuing impotence.

To summarize, the convention must:

- 1) Create a permanent National Organizing Committee.
- 2) Designate 20% of all dues exclusively for its work.

Naturally we should focus on recruiting from the Peace Movement, Organized Labor, and the Civil Rights Militants, but we should not neglect the immense body of vaguely discontented liberals in America. College students are especially important; we cannot leave them to YPSL alone. They are important because they are at the most open period of their lives and also because the colleges are natural centers for further organization. Every Socialist graduate who goes back to his home town can become the beginning of a new cadre. Of all of these sources all across the land can we not find 3,000 potential socialists?

Let the convention continue the good work of resolutions, platforms, statements of perspectives, cathartic debates, and subtle caucus manipulations. But let us also realize that unless we solve the problem of recruitment, it is all in vain. I have about 40 years left to live and I want America to move towards Socialism in that time. This will not happen without a strong Socialist Party to act as a lever. Let us now proceed to create the lever.

- Bill Allen  
Local Columbia, Mo.



## THREE THEMES IN FOREIGN POLICY

1. The anti-colonial revolution is an accomplished fact; it can no longer be halted. Where colonialism or neo-colonialism still hangs on, democratic socialists oppose it without compromise. Where imperialist rule has been thrown off, however, new and serious problems arise, for colonial domination is too often replaced by indigenous dictatorships.

There are those who claim that democracy is incompatible with economic progress in the underdeveloped world. Conceding the possibility of democracy only under advanced industrialization, they portray it as an actual impediment in the modernization of non-industrial societies. There is a familiar apology for tyranny.

Democratic socialists reject this defense of tyranny in the guise of economic efficiency. Recent developments reveal that democracy and industrial progress are not inimical. This is confirmed by the contrast between Cuba and Venezuela. Castro deliberately destroyed the trade unions, stamped out competing parties and quashed all democratic processes for the sake of rapid industrialization. Five years of coercion and forced economic marches have left the Cuban economy with such a diminished gross national productivity that it is in virtual collapse. Venezuela, with thriving independent trade unions and open avenues of political activity, has achieved a mounting gross national product built on an impressive record of land reforms and a lifting standard of living.

Without programs of massive aid, far more extensive than Alliance for Progress, the have-not nations cannot be brought into the modern world. And without corresponding achievements in the struggle for democracy, progress in the former colonial countries becomes a sham and a deception for their depressed peoples. Thus democratic socialists call for maximum efforts in economic aid and for political support to democratic developments everywhere.

2. The Sino-Soviet split has left liberals at a loss for a definitive foreign policy perspective. Some who are influenced by pacifism have grown frightened by the war-like slogans of China's propaganda. They go so far as to propose a possible alliance with one as against the other.

The democratic socialist movement long ago developed a clear-cut understanding of totalitarianism, realizing that it is perhaps the greatest enemy of democracy and socialism today. This perspective must be retained. Regardless of strategic differences both the so-called Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union seek to annihilate democratic socialism.

The fact of the split is another matter, however. In the context of world communism, it represents a polycentric development which can lead to a relaxing of Soviet control over the satellite nations. When forced to compete with China for ideological support, the Soviet Union cannot exercise its full dominion over the international communist movement with the same ruthlessness as in the past. We thus view the split as a possible step toward the unstruturing of Communist monolithism. Of course, all tendencies toward liberalization within Communism, however small, must be carefully followed.

There are a variety of ways by which polycentrism can be furthered. Increased aid to India may compel the Soviet Union to respond in kind, thereby magnifying its differences with China. This kind of policy extended to satellite nations may undermine their dependence on the Soviet Union and provide an element of choice not found in Comecon.

An awareness of the limitations to transformations under totalitarianism and an appreciation of the threat of polycentrism to Communist imperialism are the basis for projecting a democratic foreign policy. Such a policy must be geared to national self-determination of peoples and not to systems of accommodation with those who deny that self-determination.

3. For six years the European Economic Community has provided its member populations with an increasing standard of living through planned industrial productivity and substantial rates of economic growth. Because of this, all social democratic parties and labor unions in the Common Market continue to support the E.E.C. although a politically integrated Europe has not yet been attained. Through their Liaison Bureau, these parties have recently represented a program whereby:

- The member states delegate a part of their sovereign rights to European institutions subject to effective control by democratic parliamentary representation,
- membership in the E.E.C. will be open to all democratic countries in Europe accepting the aims and obligations of the European Treaties, and
- protectionist policies will be replaced by a consciousness of E.E.C.'s responsibility as the largest trading bloc in the world, especially in relation to underdeveloped areas.

This program is designed to create the conditions for the Socialist United States of Western Europe. If achieved, this means the realization of one of the most profound goals of democratic socialism. It would change Europe from a chopping block to a base for world socialism and the alternative to both liberal capitalism and Communist totalitarianism.

Social-democratic Scandinavia's hope to associate with the E.E.C. and the immediate prospect of a labor victory in Britain plus the growing strength of democratic socialist movements in Germany, France and Italy transform what was once a socialist vision to a reality that looms on the horizon.

Boulder Socialist Party



### What is the Role of the Socialist Party?

The 1962 Socialist Party Convention was divided four ways: the "realignment group," the "Meier-Mendelson" group, the "Labor Party" group, and, joining with the latter, some older comrades who, while disagreeing with many specific policies of their colleagues, nevertheless joined them because out of a kind of inertia they also saw the political development of socialism in this country taking the form of a third political party. Many of this latter grouping agreed more with the specific politics of the "realignment" group, and many of the rest of the Labor Party people agreed with the specific politics (especially on foreign policy) of the "Meier-Mendelson" group. Yet the convention was unable or unwilling to form caucuses on the basis of any consistent left-right division (that is, on the basis of a fundamental view of American society and world developments), preferring to group on the immediate issue of what specific role the Party was to play on the American political scene.

It is a mistake to suggest that this is not a "political" question. The problem has been that the "politics" of the issue have never clearly been stated, that is, the underlying assumptions of the three groups have never been clearly formulated in terms of a socialist perspective. What were (and are) these assumptions? (As for the fourth grouping there is no point in discussing assumptions because they are based on historical habit rather than upon any real strategy.)

The realignment group in general seems to see American society following the model of the Scandinavian countries, and gradually reforming itself into a welfare and labor-oriented society. It sees the Democratic Party as the chief political vehicle for this transformation, and it sees the prospects for this kind of development as generally good. From this analysis (even though it has never been explicitly stated, and we are forced to infer it from this group's tone, style, and specific policies rather than from any theoretical statement--such a statement does not appear to exist) it follows that the role of the Socialist Party as a party is negligible--it is to act as a left pressure group upon the Democratic Party, and upon the U.S. Administration when it is controlled by Democrats (as it is likely to be for at least another four years). In general, from this position, it is unnecessary and possibly even dangerous to engage the Party in very much activity in its own name, or to give it a very radical cast, for this would embarrass those of this group who seek to act as legitimate and respectable pressurers upon the liberal community. Party activities in every case must emphasize the Party's role as a respected and respectable critic, a role which makes it easy for Party members to pass from the Party into the "real" political activity of reform Democratic politics, and even into the Administration itself. There is little motivation, from these assumptions, to recruit or otherwise work for the Party, or for socialist politics as such, and party activists who share these assumptions quickly find themselves outside regular party activity, such as it is. Those of the "realignment" group who actually carry out party work from day to day are those who have chosen to carry out the necessary (but numerically minimal) task of providing their colleagues with the respectable apparatus which they require to get a hearing before the liberal community.

The Labor Party grouping sees American society developing in a rather different way: it seems to see the inherent crises of the capitalist world sharpening and moving toward a final breakdown and cataclysm. It points to the impossibility of ever making reforms so

fundamental as to solve the problems of the system along the lines of a welfare model. Hence it sees the role of socialism as rather different too: socialists must develop the kind of organization which can, at the point of crisis, give guidance and leadership to those elements who are capable of solving the crisis in a progressive and socialist manner: the labor movement, civil rights forces, the unemployed, etc. But guidance and leadership imply a development of socialist theory which has not yet come about. Thus the perspective of this group is to make the Party over into a primarily educational group which will evolve its thinking and organization in such a way as to prepare for the coming crisis of American capitalism. The "Labor Party" slogan functions as an educational device, to call attention to the inherent inability of present political structure to solve society's problems. For this group (and, regrettably, this too is a line of thinking we are forced to infer, because despite its "educational" slant this group has never made its assumptions clear in any coherent statement) there is indeed a role for the Party as such to play, but it is hard for them to visualize that the low level of present party thinking can ever develop such a role. Hence they tend to spend their time, too, outside Party "activity" as it is jokingly called in some quarters, upon other educational efforts, publications, etc..

Now the third group (I refer to some, but by no means all, of us who were at one time associated with the Meier-Mendelson position) looks upon American society in a still different manner: as a society in flux; but we see neither the Scandinavian nor the Cataclysmic models as inevitable. We see America coming to a crossroads, and see the mass organizations (especially civil rights) as the chief agents who will decide the future course of events. Hence we see our role as active participants now in the mass organizations, but less to influence the leaderships than to develop the rank-and-files themselves into politically conscious and aware elements with a strategy and a perspective. We see the necessity of a Socialist Party as forming the intellectual and tactical nerve center out of which policies relevant for mass work must come--and soon, not after the theory has been developed, but in the course of everyday struggle, i.e. dialectically, as we used to say. This group, too, has failed to make these ideas clear, and the writer must take the responsibility of attempting to make explicit what seems to be the tone, style, and policy implications of what we do every day. For this group (the "third" group) as for the Labor Party group there is an important role for the Party--when it becomes relevant to our everyday activities. But these activities play a prime role for us (as they do in a different way for the "realignment" people as well), and it is all too easy to shrug the Party off because, given the crises which face us from day to day, we have no time for irrelevancies.

Almost needless to say, there is much overlap between the tendencies which I have described; comrades from all of them find themselves involved in some mass work, for example. But I believe these descriptions are fairly accurate for the purpose of this discussion.

The attitude of comrades to various Party activities is a reflection of these basic assumptions. On the nature of



New America it follows that both the "Labor Party" and the "third" grouping are deeply dissatisfied, the former primarily because NA follows the illusory road of reformist politics, the latter chiefly but not only because NA does not significantly contribute to a live discussion of mass work options (e.g. it is afraid to tackle real intra-movement controversy because it fears to alienate official leaderships which it hopes to influence). Some comrades might, with justification, feel compelled to point out that NA does not significantly contribute, etc., because it is committed to the illusory road of reform politics, that is the two faults are connected.

On the question of Party "conferences" (the civil rights and poverty conferences specifically) the same dissatisfaction is discernable: the "third" group is unhappy primarily, though again not only, because the conferences have been public relations devices to show how respectable the party is, rather than opportunities for activists in the same causes to get together, compare notes, and work out a tactical and strategic line in conjunction with some activists who are not (yet) members of the Party. The Labor Party group is dissatisfied chiefly because the level of discussion is that of an A.D.A. meeting, not that of a socialist organization. Again, some would say that the two are related.

The forthcoming convention presents a crisis situation to two of the three groups I have discussed. The "realignment" group, since it de-emphasizes the Party generally, and since most Party functions (NA and the Conferences in particular) echo its policies because by default it controls the mechanics of these functions, can hardly be very dissatisfied--the Party is doing about all that can be expected from that viewpoint at present. But for the "Labor Party" and "third" party groups, two more years of the present drift will cause most of its activists to drift right out of the Party. For the Labor Party left the low level of educational development and the negligible likelihood of improvements in the future, together with the illusory reformist "line" which seems to dominate the Party's public image, indicate a course of abstention, and devotion to socialist theoretical work outside of the crippling framework of the Party, as the seem to see it.

As for the rest of us, two more years of failure to relate in any significant way to mass work as an organized group (we are significantly related as individuals who coincidentally happen to belong to the SP-USA) will cause a good many to question why they should bother to saddle themselves with a useless burden. These people want more than to be individuals active in mass work. They need and want to make socialism a part of developments in civil rights and other causes. This cannot be done unless the Party becomes a center to which activists, both members and nonmembers, can look for real discussion, controversy, and the hammering out of strategy and tactics. They have not found the Party to be this, whatever else it may be to others. Hence as far as their everyday work is concerned, the Party has been irrelevant, there has been no motivation for bringing new people to it, and in the future there will be little motivation for remaining in it.

There is no simple solution to this short of a complete transition of policy-making power to a Left Wing committed

to the existence and growth of a Party based on a realistic assessment of the needs of our society, and of the mass movements within our society. This means a coalition between the "Labor Party" and the "third" groupings, both of whom, for somewhat different (but overlapping) reasons see the Party as having a "raison d'être" apart from simply being the loyal left critic of the leadership of the liberal community.

The present coalition which seems to dominate the Party, between the Right and some of the Meier-Mendelson group, has failed to make the Party relevant for most of us, much less for the American scene more generally. Those of the old Meier-Mendelson group, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ who have been active on the N.C. and N.A.C. have failed to fight for their political positions, and have permitted the views of majority of the Party to be subverted by default. This kind of arrangement cannot be permitted again.

As I see it, three minimal things must be done as essential preconditions for the rejuvenation of the Party:

(1) The Left (elements of the old Labor Party caucus excluding the "historical habit" group plus elements of the old Meier-Mendelson group, plus others who agree must join together to elect a National Executive and Action Committee which reflects their assumptions, and hence which is interested in building a Party as an antagonist to contemporary political party positions, rather than as a loyal left critic of these politics.

(2) The Press must reflect these policies, and must become a hotbed of intellectual discussion, so much so that no leading activist of any movement in this country can afford not to read it.

(3) The location of the National Office must also reflect accurately the real opinions of the members-- the next NAC cannot be allowed, by default or personnel, to run the Party day-to-day in such a way as to alienate and frustrate 2/3 of the membership.

Under these circumstances, it is of course correct to say that caucuses based on the kind of division we had in 1962 would be madness. But it is nonsense to say that there should be no caucuses. The real issue is this: is the Left coalition prepared to take the steps necessary to take over the Party and run it? Is it prepared to commit the time, personnel, and location (of one of the Locals which accurately reflect it) to operate the NAC and the Press? The future of the Socialist Party for the next decade may depend on the answer.

submitted by

Martin Oppenheimer  
West Philadelphia Branch



## Thoughts Preceding a Convention

I have been in this movement twenty years, and am concerned that we have lost sight of our goals; have lost touch with the main line of our intent.

There appears to be a willingness on the part of leading comrades to forego educational effort for the uncertain expectation of short term influence. The response to this, among more ideologically inclined comrades, tends to be a hardening of line, and an attempted, though sophistic, militancy. This is a process I have witnessed before, and as before it weakens our party.

The Socialist Party is the organization which has a Socialist America as its goal. A Socialist America through the conscious efforts of the American people. It has sought to bring this about by means of education and political involvement. It has never had a program intended to hoodwink or deceive the people into Socialism. We have a reputation for clear-sighted and selfless vision, and because of it, many turn to us for counsel.

It should go without saying that WE ARE A PARTY! and that, as a Party, WE EXPECT SOMEDAY TO REPRESENT THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE of this country. Many possible short term perspectives can fall into place as long as this long-term perspective is recognized. I believe that most comrades hold this view. It is imperative to state it clearly.

We are too weak today in most parts of this huge country, to seriously engage in electoral activities as a Party. Our purpose then is to become strong enough. Our activities and tactics in these areas must gauge themselves to the realities both inside and outside the Party, and address themselves to this goal.

This means a multiplicity of tactics. Comrade Shachtman says "each season has its vegetable". This country with its fifty states is so large, that there is not some part of it where any given vegetable is no growing and in season any time of year. There is no season for tomatoes in the U.S.A. For the same reason it is ridiculous to proscribe or prescribe given tactic for all parts of our Party. That was partly the reason I supported the Meier-Mendelson resolution at the 1962 convention. I felt then, and still do, that this resolution provided the greatest flexibility in tactics, without sacrificing principle.

Comrade Albright's article in the Last Hammer & Tongs aroused my sympathy. Not for the reasons he gave, but because the lack of a national candidate has deprived the Party of its national public face.

I am certain that we are not capable of a national campaign now, nor will we be in the very near future. This is a poor reason for not having a national spokesman. A presidential candidate is just that. If we can find a qualified and available young man, some one willing to present the views of the Party, and abide by its discipline, I believe it would be wise to make him our candidate. As such he could take advantage of opportunities to present our view that are now wasted.

There could be no discipline on our comrades to actively campaign for such a candidate. Not with present prospects.

The S.P. Platform traditionally states our long term aim of a Socialist America, and as well, our "vision and deep faith". The basic and most important part of our program, because it demonstrates the current application of socialist principle, is our program of immediate (or transitional) demands. In recent years it has seemed to me that the tone of this program has been advisory, that it is addressed to the government.

We are not foreign petitioning the state. Our platform is a program for the people; not a petition, but a call to action.

This brings me to some S.P. stands on recent issues. Our "responsible" attitude on immediate demands has carried over into the discussion of all Questions, giving the Party and NEW AMERICA a pundit flavor. It seems as though the whole organization was auditioning as a replacement for Walter Lippman.

Our gingerly approach to the "War on Poverty" is a case in point. NEW AMERICA acts as though with some minor changes this program (expanded of course) could bring in the millennium. As a Socialist I cannot understand this. As a Socialist I am not shocked that the state of California is considering the "War on Poverty" as a means for training the native poor to replace "bracero" labor.

There is a class struggle! It is continuous and pervasive. It is a useful tool in the analysis of history---and current events.

When President Johnson announced his war on poverty, most of us recognized the hoax. Not NEW AMERICA.

Most of us, being socialists, could see that the war on poverty would become a war on the poor. It provides no cut in the work week, no broader minimum wage coverage. That would help the poor. It provides under the guise of training and education, the means to regiment and enslave them, and we should have been the first to say so. We were not. Are we now going to be deeply pained by the "failure of this great promise?" That will be as big a hoax as the war itself.

The analysis of the struggle between India and China can teach some useful lessons. Unfortunately they are not drawn.

China is attempting to extend her territory into areas over which India claims sovereignty. The great mass of the people in both countries will not be affected by victory or defeat. They will continue to live desperate lives on the border of starvation.

NO other border matters to them. No other border matters to me.

The Question of foreign aid does matter, and while it was the source of this debate (whether India should receive military aid) it was not answered by the discussants.

American military aid has had little efficacy in propping up what the U.S. government considered "desirable" governments in underdeveloped countries. Examples are Chiang, Batista, and Ngo Dinh, there are others who can be added to this list.

It would be reasonable for socialists to call for military aid to governments we want to see destroyed. The argument over India would then have a legitimate basis.

Economic aid could, and at times does, keep people from starving. It could modernize economics and raise living standards. It has so far been unsuccessful in underdeveloped countries because of the impractical attitudes of Russia and America.

Russia has used foreign aid to make money by selling substandard and overpriced manufactured goods. (see Y.S.R.) The U.S. has used foreign aid as a political club, on international affairs, and as a means of extorting economic advantage for American investors. The recent refusal to finance a needed steel complex for India is a case in point. Financing was refused because the mills would have been national property, competing



(12)

with privately owned steel industry, and imports from America. If the project had been to subsidize capitalism in India, and a good rate of return had been guaranteed American investors, the credits certainly would have been forthcoming.

Some Supra-National means must be found to aid the underdeveloped countries if they are to be helped and not re-enslaved.

Again neither the Party nor NEW AMERICA brought this out.

Our task is to organize a socialist movement in America. We must educate and involve the people in our struggle. "Responsible" politics is not the tactic to gain this end.

submitted by

Peter F. Meyer

Chicago S. Side Chapter

#### POVERTY IN CHICAGO

The Socialist Party of Illinois calls for a massive "War on Poverty" in Chicago. This city, thanks to its diversified industry, has been spared the worst effects of the current national unemployment trend. Yet a jobless rate that hovers close to an alarmingly high national average is no cause for complacency. The 1963-64 boom in business profits has brought no benefits to those workers who must personally experience the blows of unemployment. Nor is unemployment the only cause of poverty in Chicago. Many workers, particularly Negroes and other minority groups, can only find employment in unskilled and underpaid jobs. Let us examine the facts: In 1960 the U.S. Department of Labor estimated that an average sized family in Chicago would need \$6,629 for a "modest but adequate" living standard. The Heller Committee for research in social economics has estimated that the average Chicago family should have \$7,049 to reach a commonly accepted American living standard. Yet in 1960 some 34% of Chicago's families earned under \$6,000. One-third of Chicago's population lives in poverty or dangerously close to its borders.

Today over 7% of Chicago's population is forced to rely on relief for survival, including a full 25% of the Negro community. Those shocking figures outline a culture of extreme poverty, fear, and lack of hope or promise for the future that covers almost 300,000 people. Of these, 78% are on welfare because of either unemployment or low wages. In every instance the relief payments are too low. An A.D.C. mother with three children, for example, is supposed to spend only 61 cents per person each day for food, an amount that is neither starvation nor adequacy. The \$90 per month rent coiling for welfare families forces many of them, caught between the inflated rents charged by slum landlords and the callousness of the State Legislature, to dip into their slender food and clothing funds to cover their rent. To be sure, the Public Aid Department has adult literacy and job retraining programs for eligible welfare recipients, but while these programs may move the poor off the relief rolls and into low-paying jobs, they will not move these individuals out of the narrow world of poverty.

Mayor Daley has recently proclaimed that slum housing is being wiped out at a rapid rate, and that by 1970 there will be no slums in Chicago. This is an outright lie. The City administration is doing next to nothing to halt the activities of the slum land lords, who charge high rents for ill-heated, cramped, rat and vermin infested apartments that are in need of major repairs. This slum housing is particularly common in the Negro ghetto, where hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans are forced by housing segregation to accept second-class living conditions. It is true that 185,000 people live in low-cost public housing, but this housing is usually located right in the heart of the South or West side ghetto, and consists of high high-rise complexes. These complex buildings grouped in segregated areas and serviced by segregated schools, can neither provide the foundation for any real community life nor lessen the crippling effects of poverty. This has also meant that the low-income white community has been excluded from public housing. In fact, in total numbers, there are at least as many whites as Negroes who need public housing. Yet 90% of all tenants are non-white.

We call for a massive public program in housing, schools and medical care. Such a multi-billion dollar effort would provide the decent living conditions, health services and education so desperately needed to break the generation-to-generation handing down of poverty. This program will also open up a large number of new jobs, for which both Negro and white unemployed can be trained.

1) Instead of the present pattern of prison-like high-rise complexes, we believe that the city should build at least 100,000 units of low-cost public housing in the form of small, four or five story apartment buildings scattered in every neighborhood of the city. Instead of the present authoritarian administration by the C.H.A., we propose that public housing be managed on a cooperative basis by the tenants of each building. In addition,



rent ceilings should be established on all other rented building below the upper-income category, and a program of complete rehabilitation of salvageable tenement buildings should be instituted. Real estate owners who refuse to thoroughly rehabilitate slum apartments should be subject to immediate public condemnation of their buildings, without compensation. These tenements would then be rebuilt by the city and become low-income projects.

2) We believe that it is intolerable for those who cannot enter private hospitals, either from poverty or racial discrimination, to be forced to travel to an already-burdened Cook County Hospital, regardless of where they live. We call for a complete system of public hospitals and health centers covering every area of the city.

3) Under the present Board of Education, Chicago's schools are totally inadequate to give a decent education to those who most desperately need it - children who come from the crippling background of poverty. Slum schools get the largest classes, least qualified teachers, and the lowest amount of funds-per-pupil. We call for a total break with this shameful past. The construction of new schools and the utilization of unused space in existing schools, together with a greatly increased teaching staff, will lower the classroom load to the point where teachers can give each child individual attention. An enriched program with modern teaching materials, laboratories well equipped for science instruction, and real vocational training that will give students the knowledge and experience necessary to get technical jobs in a rapidly automating society, are all desperately needed. To give the children of poverty the best preparation for the primary grades we are for, A) the establishment of one year of public nursery school, B) making kindergarten compulsory, C) smaller classes in slum neighborhoods, with extra psychological and health services.

Although such a massive works program as we propose would create enough new jobs to drastically lower Chicago's unemployment rate, we realize that long-run solutions to the problems of unemployment and automation cannot be found on just the local level, but in basic changes in the entire society. The problem of low-wage employment, however, can be tackled in Chicago. We call for a \$2.00 an hour minimum wage, covering all wage and salary jobs. For those who cannot earn a decent income for one reason or another, we call for the raising of state welfare payments, and a city program until such time as state standards are decent. In general, we believe that Chicago must have a government that acknowledges at least the U.S. Dept. of Labor minimum income standards, and publicly accepts the responsibilities of ensuring that all Chicagoans have this decent income.

As the wealthy have moved to the suburbs, the cities social needs have increased while its capacity to meet those needs has decreased. Therefore, to implement our program fully requires federal aid on the basis of extra help to large cities and to poor states. Likewise we favor increased state aid through a graduated state income tax, with individual exemption of \$1,500. This state aid should be designed to help especially Chicago and depressed counties.

We know, as do all those who must live in poverty, that the Democratic Machine will never be that government, nor ever enact a serious campaign to eliminate poverty. Built on corruption and privilege, allied to conservative business interests, the Machine must be destroyed by a vigorous reform movement before any real steps can be taken. The present civil rights movement is a healthy beginning for such a future development. The program we have briefly outlined is for both negro and white, for employed and unemployed. It is based on the belief that poverty must be wiped out in a far-reaching campaign not in some future generation, not "someday", but well within our lifetime. And the job must start now.

Adopted by the Illinois State convention  
of the Socialist Party.

## CIVIL RIGHTS RESOLUTION (17)

The Socialist Party of Illinois re-affirms its support of the civil rights struggle and its sympathy with the aims expressed by the slogan-Freedom Now.

We condemn the efforts of the reactionary, advertiser-controlled press in Chicago and Illinois to misinform the citizens of this state about the nature of the civil rights movement and to foment racial attitudes almost sure to result in violence.

We condemn the irresponsibility of Sen. Everett Dirksen in the current civil rights filibuster. Although the present bill is a weak compromise, further weakening and delay by the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition will be rightly taken as a sign of heartless bad faith and make worse an already dangerous social situation.

We are unalterably opposed to the machine of Rep. William Dawson, which has forfeited all claim to the support of the Negro community by its cynical effort to sell out the current movement for full equality.

Employment: Realizing that progress in eliminating employment discrimination is limited in the present situation of widespread unemployment and desperate competition for jobs, we call for massive state and federal public works programs to remedy the immediate problem and concentrated economic planning needed for long run full employment.

We call for a stronger and more easily enforceable FEPC law.

We call for the co-operation of all sections of all sections of the trade union movement to achieve full and fair employment for all working men and women and deplore the discriminatory practices of many unions.

Education: We pledge our continuing support to the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO) in its efforts to integrate the schools of Chicago and re-affirm our support for that group's past actions.

We call for immediate implementation of the Hausor panel recommendations with the modifications suggested by the CCCC including the dismissal of the racist Benjamin C. Willis.

We condemn the action of Mayor Richard J. Daley in his recent school board appointments. Mrs. Wendell E. Green has shown manifest incompetence to deal with school problems and hostility to the demands of the civil rights movement. Mrs. Louise Mallis has been for years an apologist for the racist policies of Willis and is likely to join the tame stooges for Willis and the real estate lobby who make up the boards current majority.

We call for massive action in the courts to stop violations of the Armstrong law and other illegal racist policies of Illinois boards of education. Housing: We call for an immediate, statewide, enforceable, and strict open occupancy law. Since the fundamental civil rights of the citizens of this state are not negotiable, we oppose any referendum on the open occupancy principle.

We oppose the use of tax money for any public housing or private redevelopment that encourages or perpetuates segregation by race or income in this state.

We call for a large-scale program of sub-divided low and middle-income housing, dispersed throughout the city in such a way as to produce decent, integrated neighborhoods.

CONCLUSION: We make the above resolutions in the sure knowledge that the discontent within the Negro community is a force that can no longer be contained with fine words, that can no longer be held back by empty gestures of "God will!" We do not make the mistake that the present power structure makes when it assumes that because Negro Americans have been patient for a century that they will be patient forever. We serve warning that every minute of delay in granting the demands of the civil rights movement will increase frustration and hate that will make the problem more difficult to solve. The only real solution is- Freedom Now!

Adopted by the Illinois State Convention.  
May 3rd, 1964



Draft - War on poverty section of platform - by Michael Harrington

The Socialist Party believes that the current concern with the national disgrace of poverty offers a most important point of departure for political action.

In part America owes its new consciousness of this problem to the Negro. The civil rights revolution is the first dynamic movement of militant poverty since the rise of the CIO in the 1930's. It was this irrepressible wave of protest which shattered the "American celebration" of the Eisenhower years and confronted the country, not simply with the issue of race, but with the questions of unemployment, miserable housing and inferior schools as well. The chronic high levels of joblessness since 1957 becoming more and more obvious and intolerable yearly also prepared the way for a new consciousness.

In this context of a renewal of social action, we Socialists are proud of our role in articulating ideas which grew out of our participation in the common struggle. Our platforms in 1960 and 1962 had identified the peculiar nature of affluent poverty; and it is with this knowledge of having been carrying on the war against poverty long before it was formally announced that we speak on this subject again in 1964.

We propose a Socialist strategy in this war, a long-range view of what must be done, not simply to lift tens of millions of Americans out of an unconscionable indignity, but to create a just society for all in the process.

We propose a tactic for all men of good will in the war against poverty. For us, these immediate demands and programs are informed by our socialist vision, yet they do not require a socialist commitment in order to be acted upon. We have no intention of remaining aloof from the battle until it formally declares socialist aims. We pledge ourselves to continue to work with all those Americans who hunger for justice - with civil rights militants, trade unionists, liberals, men of both religious and humanist faith - and our only precondition is that all of us wage this war with all the strength at our command.

THE SOCIALIST STRATEGY

The Socialist strategy has one basic thought: to make the war against poverty a means not simply of eradicating the misery of the poor, but of creating a just society in America and the world.

Today poverty is deeply rooted in the institutions of our society. Where resources are primarily allocated on the basis of corporate profit, it is wholly logical to build and rebuild the dwellings of the middle class and the rich every generation and to leave the poor behind. Where the end of economic activity is the balance sheet and not the human need, it makes irrational sense to leave human beings idle, run factories under capacity, and refuse to satisfy the basic necessities of tens of millions of Americans.

In the long run, the struggle against poverty demands that the principle of human needs, as democratically determined, control the allocation of resources, instead of the principle of profit.

Let us be specific. America requires the immediate replacement of that 220% of its housing which the Bureau of the Census has declared to be unfit; it must have, according to the United States Senate Subcommittee Report on Employment and Manpower, an investment of between \$500 and \$700 billion just in order to accommodate the increasing urban population over the next 20 years.

The transportation system of almost every major city is becoming more and more chaotic every day.

The educational requirements of our society mount annually. The Secretary of Labor has said that machines now have high school diplomas; the Senate Subcommittee has called for 14 years of universal, free public schooling.

Our nation's health is in an absurd condition for the most industrially advanced country on the face of the earth: one half of the young men who appear before the draft boards fail their examination, half of them for medical reasons, and the other half because they do not have the equivalent of a seventh grade education.

We have these needs: for housing, transport, education and health.

We have the resources to meet these needs, human, material and financial.

There are 5.5% of the American work-force now jobless, and a "true" unemployment figure (counting in underemployment, those forced out of the labor market etc.) would be nearer 9%. The Office of Economic Opportunity has already warned the nation that, under present conditions, there will be one and a half million unemployed teenagers in five years. A third of the male youth are now high school dropouts in an economy demanding post high school skills.

These terrible figures could be the description of an advantage if America would only take the opportunity: they represent an immense human resource for meeting the needs of the society as a whole. If they were employed, the war on poverty would not be a war on the poor from above, but a war of the poor.

An essential element of the Socialist strategy is: let us hire the poor to tear poverty down; let us bring the poor together with the rest of the nation in a gigantic effort to build up the entire society.

In times past, such proposals would have been utopian since the general level of economic scarcity made it impossible to speak of such massive social investments. That is not true today.

In the twentieth century, productivity per man hour has grown at a historic rate of 2.5% per year. In recent years this figure has increased with automation to 3.5% and last year it might have reached 4%. This technological progress - it amounted to a \$20 billion increase last year - provides the material resource for raising the living standards and the quality of life of all Americans.

If our technology is properly utilized, it can abolish poverty and create a decent society. If it is guided by the profit desires of a minority, it will continue to do what it has done: institutionalize poverty, increase unemployment, create a metropolitan chaos "planned" by speculation.

America, as a consequence of this technology, has the financial means to abolish poverty. Today the U.S. spends \$12 billion in Federal funds for the custodial care of poverty - and this is a low estimate. The Mayor of New York has announced that 25% of that giant city's budget is devoted to the special miseries of the poor, their increased need for fire and health protection, the juvenile and adult crime problems of the slums, and their other special problems.

Millions will be required to eliminate poverty - but billions are already devoted to maintaining poverty. With the middle class fleeing the central city, taking their taxes to the suburbs and leaving the problems behind, this has created financial problems for every metropolis in America. But there are other costs as well. The persistence of poverty morally corrupts a society which has the means of abolishing it, and it provides a perennial source of bitter, unchannelled conflict and violence. America can no longer afford poverty, financially, morally or socially.

We therefore as our strategy propose joining together the human resources and the human needs, the material capacity and the financial capacity, in a gigantic program, not simply for the poor, but of the poor and everyone else, for a decent society.

To carry out this strategy many things are required. Two of the most important are democratic national planning and a mass political movement which fights in the war against poverty.

There are powerful forces in American life which accept and thrive on poverty. To name only a few of the most obvious, there are the slumlords and real estate speculators, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Farm Bureau, the American Medical Association. They have distinguished themselves at this new moment of national consciousness by a resolute call to march backward...



socially.

A majority of Americans are for the abolition of poverty. The civil rights movement understood this point dramatically in August, 1963, when it marched for jobs and freedom. The trade union movement must more and more understand this point if automation is not to continue its present career as, in the words of George Meany, a curse rather than a blessing. The migrants and the poor farmers and farm hands, denied the generous subsidies of the agricultural rich of the Farm Bureau, desperately need to participate in the rewards of the most productive farm lands in the world. And millions of middle class people, motivated by reasons of ethics or religion, members of radical and liberal movements, also seek an end to our national indignity.

Thus far, the forces for poverty have been more cohesive and decisive than those against. Every progressive social proposal made in this nation since 1938 has been thwarted or distorted.

In the strategy of the war against poverty, the anti-poverty forces must create a serious political movement, capable of enacting laws as well as proposing platforms. We socialists differ among ourselves as to how this development will take place, whether through a realignment of the existing parties or the emergence of a mass third party, but we are all committed to the proposition that the war against poverty cannot be conducted by politics as usual. However it will in fact appear, there must be a new political majority in this country--the expression of the real, the numerical and social majority.

As we have made plain, we believe that real success in this struggle leads beyond the limits of the profit economy. As the same time, we support reforms of the present system, because of the conviction that whatever can be done

here and now to alleviate human misery must be done, and because we believe that the consciousness of the necessity of more basic transformation will not come out of the blue but in the process of fighting for immediate gains.

Therefore Socialists join with the most militant and advanced sections of the reform forces to battle in the present to push the limits of the possible as far as they will go.

Some of the most important demands in 1964 are:

Full employment. There can be no effective beginning of a war against poverty so long as chronic, high unemployment persists. Under such conditions, even the minimal and most modest proposals for job training in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 will fail--because one cannot train a man for a non-existent job.

Toward the aim of full employment, we support:

- ....the AFL-CIO call for an immediate passage of a \$2 billion appropriation for accelerated public works, as an urgent first step toward a massive public works program;
- ....the majority proposal of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower for an additional added expenditure of \$5 billion a year on socially useful projects;
- ....the building of 2.3 million new dwelling units per year for the next ten years, with the deficiency of privately built housing to be made up by a massive public low cost housing program;
- ....an increase in the Federal minimum wage to \$2 an hour;
- ....compulsory registration of job vacancies with a revamped and effective United States Employment Service;
- ....the establishment of Federal minimums for State unemployment compensation;
- ....the establishment of unemployment benefits to cover the entire period of unemployment;
- ....decreases in the working day, increases in vacation time and the expansion of the sabbatical principle;
- ....the vesting of pension and other fringe benefit rights for workers;

....the "older worker's program" providing adequate income for human beings rendered economically "obsolete" long before they qualify for Social Security.

Depressed Areas. The depressed area legislation passed in the first years of the Kennedy Administration shows the price exacted by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition: the refusal of funds to many industrial areas; their concentration in the South, often under the control of a white racist power structure; the denial of rational planning procedures.

We support:

- ....the Appalachian Bill, as the beginning of a beginning of a commitment to that region;
  - ....the principle of regional authorities in depressed areas planning;
  - ....a crash program for education in rural depressed areas;
  - ....Federal grants to depressed area community action programs, with the proviso that all groups in a community, and particularly minorities, have a right to participate in the direction of the program;
  - ....the creation of TVA type Authorities in the war against poverty in Appalachia, in the Ozarks, and in the Columbia and Missouri River Valleys.
- Agriculture. The scandal of poverty in the richest fields in history is well known. In recent years, agricultural productivity and misery have been the simultaneous wonder of the nation. We therefore propose:
- ....the extension of minimum wage and collective bargaining rights to migrants and farm workers;
  - ....the expansion of the Migrant Health Act to cover hospital care and medicine;
  - ....the planned abolition of the entire pattern of migrant labor through technological progress and the more efficient use of local labor markets;
  - ....the loan and grant program for poor farmers under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964;
  - ....the planned encouragement of cooperative farming as against corporation farming;
  - ....the planned development of a leisure or tourist industry in the rural depressed areas where this is possible.

Planning. We are, as noted before, committed to Socialist planning, with all of its implications of the democratization of the economy. But, short of such a basic transformation, many advantages from planning can be obtained within the context of reforming, but not fundamentally changing, the present system. As immediate steps we favor:

- ....the implementation of the Employment Act of 1946 through the presentation each year by the president of a national full employment budget, making up any deficiencies of job creation in the private sector through public action;
- ....the expansion of the role of the Council of Economic Advisors, which should be charged with projecting growth trends on a long term basis and putting forth legislative remedies for deficiencies in the private and public sector;
- ....the immediate initiation, under the Department of Labor, of a long range manpower study, so as to provide a rational basis for calculation on the part of educators and other planners;
- ....social planning for ways in which to achieve social and racial integration in housing and to transcend the present policy of segregating low-cost housing both by income and by minority status.

Education. The technological society now coming into existence requires higher and higher levels of skill and training. Yet, of the 26 million young Americans entering the economy during the decade of the '60's, 7.6 million will not finish high school and 2.3 million will lack even a grade school education. In this economy, such a situation is education for poverty.

Therefore we support:

- ....the principle of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower that this society commit itself to fourteen years of universal, free public education;
- ....the recognition that going to school is the most productive activity for Americans between the ages of 16 and 21 and should therefore be compensated as work through a "G.I. Bill" for all American youth without reference to



their past or future military service;

....the establishment of a National Volunteer Training Corps program, with the financial support and status hitherto accorded NROTC, for preparing young Americans for both international and domestic Peace Corps service;

....Federal aid to education, with money appropriated according to the need as defined by the original Kennedy Task Force rather than the inadequate sums proposed in the present bill.

Early Education. Studies of poverty more and more indicate that the social and psychological maiming of the children of the poor occurs at a very early age. Moreover, crowded, poorly staffed and inadequate urban and rural slum schools are often the transmission belt for functional illiteracy. A child who does not learn to read and write in the first three grades is marked as a dropout by the time he reaches eight or nine years.

We support:

....a Federal grant for nursery and pre-school care, particularly in slum areas;

....special Federal aid for reducing the teacher-student ration in the first three grades of school, and for remedial reading facilities.

New Definitions of Work. Part of the enormous problem of poverty in contemporary America is that technology is destroying precisely those skilled and semi-skilled jobs which were once the point of entry into the economy for immigrant and other impoverished groups. This shift in the shape of the American manpower system is a particularly grave burden for Negroes and other minorities who are denied the opportunities which this nation once provided to those at the bottom. With our present knowledge of the future of the labor market, it is clear that there are hundreds of thousands, even millions, who will be unemployable, or fit only for miserable under-employment, so long as our present definitions of work prevail.

We therefore propose that the United States recognize that the elimination of tedious and routine work can be a blessing, for it allows for new definitions of work. Specifically, in the automated economy, the growth industry for jobs is the human care of human beings, the one function which no machine can ever perform.

As a start, here and now, in acting on this principle, we propose a vast expansion of non- and semi-professional social work, and particularly those activities which will involve the poor themselves in the war against poverty. For example, we urge:

....the utilization of the skills of the aging, and particularly the aging poor, as part of the expansion of nursery and pre-school education;

....the employment of non-professionals as teacher's and social worker's aides;

....the recognition of non-fighting gangs in the slums as effective social agencies, with financial support to the groups and the possibility of payment to their officers as non-professional social workers;

....the creation of non-professional community service employment in public housing and neighborhood centers;

....the expansion of the "home town youth corps" program under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with special relevance to the training of such volunteers in new types of social work.

#### CONCLUSION

These are some of the ideas which we socialists propose for the strategy and tactic of the war against poverty.

Whether viewed in terms of immediate reform or of the long range transformation of the society, each one of these proposals is related to the fundamental options of American life. The poor are only the most obvious victims of a technology which has mastered its creators and anarchically "planned" this nation. But the rest of the people of this country faces these problems as well. It is clearly possible to rescue those who have been left behind by economic progress; but, more than that, it is possible to rescue them in

#### HAMMER & TONGS

NUMBER 3

15 CENTS

DISCUSSION BULLETIN OF THE  
SOCIALIST PARTY

SP-SDF  
64 E. VAN BUREN  
ROOM 810  
CHICAGO 5, ILL.

#### CONTENTS:

Background Material Prepared For The Washington Conference On Poverty

An Alternative Approach To Minimum Wage Regulation.....Page 1  
For Information: Swedish Economic Policy.....Page 3  
Draft Ideas Submitted by Arlon Tussing.....Page 6

Foreign Policy Plank - First Draft  
By David McReynolds.....Page 8

Letter To The Members  
By David McReynolds.....Page 19

Socialism Reaffirmed  
By Ken Burg and Mike Muench.....Page 25

ORDERS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS. PLEASE INCLUDE PAYMENT.